Tito spits in Stalin's eye

Warsaw was stunned. London was jubilant. Pietro Nenni, head of Italy's fellow-traveling Socialists, was amazed. Washington assumed a wait-and-see attitude which only thinly disguised the satisfaction felt at the State Department. For several weeks, rumors had been flying around that all was not well behind the "Iron Curtain," and these stories, it was known in diplomatic and newspaper circles, were not without a basis in fact. In Belgrade's May Day parade this year pictures of Marshal Stalin were few and inconspicuous, those of Marshal Tito were numerous and prominent; a few days after the parade Tito fired a number of high-ranking Communists notoriously subservient to Russia; on June 15 there appeared no Serb edition of the Cominform's semi-monthly propaganda sheet. Nevertheless, hardened diplomats kept their fingers crossed-in the world of communism there is no place for revolt against Russian hegemony. Then on June 28 the bombshell burst. The official organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party printed the text of a 3,000-word statement, severely critical of Tito, which had been adopted by the Cominform at a secret meeting held earlier in the month somewhere in Rumania. The Yugoslav leader was accused of all the crimes in the book, including the peculiarly heinous sins of Trotskyism and disloyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The statement made it clear that Tito could choose between doing penance for his misdeeds or being liquidated. Twenty-four hours later, while the world still rocked from the force of the explosion, Tito, breaking communist behavior patterns to smithereens, issued a counterblast which fully matched the invective of the Cominform's hatchet boys. If he was a Trotskyite, then, by the tomb of Lenin. Stalin and his Cominform stooges were fascists. In substance, Tito shook world communism to its foundations by demanding equality with the Russian Party. All sorts of interpretations of the split between Moscow and Belgrade are being advanced, including one which sees in the Tito incident a reflection of the struggle for power in Moscow between Molotov and Zhdanov. So far the only conclusion that can safely be drawn from this communist brawl is that the Marshall Plan, by promoting conflict between Russian imperialism and the fierce nationalisms of Eastern Europe, is succeeding beyond all expectations.

France, Berlin and Tito

In his address to the French National Assembly on June 17, when it voted by the slim majority of eight in favor of the London recommendations for a Western Germany, Paul Reynaud told the deputies that they were living in the "atomic age" and that the situation in 1948 was nothing like that which prevailed after the last war. France still has her attention fixed upon the Franco-

German problem. Opposing the advice of Charles de Gaulle, M. Reynaud asked where the French would be if they were isolated. "We have already said no to the East," he declared. "If we now say no to Britain, the United States and Benelux, what good will our isolation be?" He prayed that there be no war, but if there should be, "neutrality will not work." M. Reynaud's words seem to be the most effective commentary on the continued French criticisms of General Clay's strong stand against Russian encroachments in Berlin, and on the French Government's proposal to Washington on June 28 that the Western Powers should make one more attempt, through another Four-Power meeting, to negotiate with the Russians. We know how fruitless these endless Cabinet negotiations with Russia have been in the past. If it is argued that the Russians are now more disposed to yield, the reply is pertinent that the best way to make them more conciliatory is to stand up firmly against them, and that General Clay's firmness seems to be obtaining just such a result. As for the "moderation" which Moscow is supposed to be displaying in contrast to the "extremist" severities of Tito, it can equally be argued that the Tito affair may be but an excuse for sending Russian armies into Yugoslavia. The applause that greeted Paul Reynaud's speech-from every quarter in the Assembly except that of the Communists-would seem to indicate that the majority of the French people, whatever the socialist politicians may assert, will agree with him when he says that France must join wholeheartedly with her western allies if she is to be saved from total disaster.

#### New coal contract

As these lines are being written, the nation's 400,000 soft-coal miners are enjoying their annual ten-day vacation. For at least one very good reason it is probably the happiest vacation of their lives. The day before they quit the mines John L. Lewis persuaded the Commercial Coal Operators to sign the best contract the men have ever won. Oddly enough, the way to agreement was smoothed by the same Judge Goldsborough who twice imposed huge fines on the union for disobeying injunctions. The Judge threw out of court a suit brought by Ezra Van Horn, the operators' trustee on the 1947 welfare fund, which up to now has prevented all payments to the miners for disabilities and pensions. Until the employers agreed to accept the plan for pensions worked out by himself and Senator Bridges, Mr. Lewis had adamantly refused to bargain on a 1948 contract. Victorious in court, Mr. Lewis was equally successful at the bargaining table. He won a basic wage increase of a dollar a day and a 100per-cent increase in operator payments to the welfare fund. This gives the miners the highest wage in American industry, and one of the most generous welfare and

pension systems. Every member of the union who has worked for twenty years can now retire at the age of sixty-two on a pension of \$100 a month. For these gains, Mr. Lewis sacrificed nothing. The miners still have their union shop and will work only when they are "able and willing." The "captive mines," that is, those owned by the steel companies, refused to sign the contract on the ground that it violated the Taft-Hartley restrictions on the union shop. They are very probably right and it is regrettable that Mr. Lewis and his fellow officers have not signed non-communist affidavits and thus made the union eligible for a union-shop election. Unless a law is immoral, it should be obeyed until repealed or changed. The new contract, which will increase the cost of producing coal about \$250 million, raises, of course, the disagreeable prospect of another advance in coal prices. Whether much of an increase is necessary is very dubious. Last year twenty-four coal companies, according to the April letter of National City Bank, increased their net profits 67.3 per cent over 1946. This amounted to a return of 12.3 per cent on investment.

Earnings of American workers

A study by Stanley Lebergott of the real earnings of American workers over the past half-century, which appears in the current issue of the Journal of the American Statistical Association, reveals that the average non-farm worker was about twice as well off in 1946 as his grandfather was in 1890. During the four-year period from 1890 to 1894, his annual real wage, measured in 1910-14 dollars and allowing for unemployment, was \$644; in 1946 it was \$1,219. (During the same period monetary wages went from \$502 to \$2,424.) From these statistics, which, though admittedly imperfect, without much doubt reflect the true picture, one can draw any number of conclusions. The most obvious one-and the least controversial—is that the non-farm worker has shared in the increased productivity and the technological advance of American industry. Whether he has shared fairly is another question. A second conclusion—and this is not very controversial either-is that, despite the over-all gain in real earnings, the average worker has never achieved security. During the period from 1930 to 1934, his real earnings were almost identical with those of the period 1890-94! More recently, the average worker saw his real wages drop from \$1,304 in 1945 to \$1,219 the following year. What it all adds up to is this: in the years ahead we must devote to achieving a relative stability in employment and the value of money the same intelligence

and energy that we have heretofore given to technology. We have, perhaps, too easily accepted the idea that the price of progress is what Professor Joseph Schumpeter once called the process of "creative destruction." The worker who loses his savings and his home during a depression finds cold comfort in the knowledge that real earnings have doubled over the past half-century.

Argentina's dollar policy

A shift in Argentina's dollar policy is indicated by the recent statement of Señor Miguel Miranda, chairman of the National Economic Council. Only a few weeks ago the Argentine official line suggested that that country could do without hard currency—the American dollar. Accordingly, the ECA decision not to buy in Argentina was lightly discounted. But now the Buenos Aires Gov. ernment stresses its determination to cut food production rather than be forced to sell too cheaply. Señor Miranda's point seems to be, as he puts it, that "Argentina is the only country that has been delivering food to Europe while the other nations have been dealing in plans." He predicts a noticeable dollar influx within a few months regardless of whether the dollars come from ECA or other sources. Meanwhile the Central Chamber of Commerce, which President Perón created to help deal with economic problems, has published its recommendations. Among them is a proviso to the effect that the Government should "create the conditions indispensable to the fullest realization of Marshall Plan benefits." It seems that Argentine economic leadership, centered in Senor Miranda, is again trading on the impoverishment of Europe. He wants food prices high and, rather than see a decline to world market level, is prepared to restrict exports.

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#### Success in Greece

Our investment in Greece seems to be paying off. Undertaken admittedly as a program to halt Soviet expansion to the Mediterranean, the Truman Doctrine, backed by American military supplies and counsel, has thwarted for the moment at least the Kremlin's designs on the birthplace of democracy—as the recent successes of the Greek Army against the communist rebels demonstrate. While UNSCOB continues its futile sessions at Salonika (near the spot where correspondent George Polk's body was found), Gen. Markos' Andartes are being cornered in the Grammos Mountains. Though the Greek papers daily lament the smallness of the ERP allotment (\$106 millions) and are confident that "this mere pittance" will be doubled or tripled, American economic aid has given Greece, a naturally poor country, more material prosperity than most European nations. Prices, of course, are out of hand and bear heavily on the poor. A large loaf of bread costs 4,000 drachmas, one-fifth of the daily wage paid an ordinary workman even by American construction companies. The inbred suspicion and distrust entertained by nearly all Greeks regarding canned foods complicates the situation. An observer noted a six-pound can of Cudahy's best beef for sale in Crete for the equivalent of \$1.50. The prejudice prevents the

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use of the enormous quantities of canned and powdered milk even for Greek children. Shipment of bulk foods seems the only solution and, with bread the common staple in Greece more than in any other country of Europe, the greatest boon for the poor—and a major political triumph—would be a continuous supply of flour in quantities adequate to drive down the price of bread. Our intervention in Greece has not been inexpensive. Given the present state of world affairs, what we have done and are doing seems well worth the price.

### The Nation's anti-Catholicism

Following the banning of the Nation in the public schools of New York City (cf. "Is all censorship intolerable?" AMERICA, July 3, p. 310), an action taken solely by the City Board of Education, Mr. Paul Blanshard, author in the Nation of the series the Board had condemned as un-American because anti-Catholic, rallied to his own and the magazine's defense in the columns of the New York Times. The defense blatantly manifests the same playing fast and loose with the truth and the same bigotry which Mr. Blanshard disavows in his articles. For example, Mr. Blanshard says: "The Catholic hierarchy teaches in its canon law that it is a sin for a Catholic to marry a Protestant or a Jew." That, as it stands, is a flat falsehood. A second falsehood is the allegation that the action of the New York City Board of Education was the result of "censorship" by the Catholic hierarchy. We are authorized to state that Church authorities were informed of the banning only after the Board had determined on it. As for the anti-Catholic bigotry, it is evident that Blanshard is against the Church, not because of the birth-control or the public-school issue, but simply because it is the Catholic Church. He calls it "un-American and intolerant" when the hierarchy teaches that "it is a sin for an American Catholic child to attend an American public school when a parochial school is available." Since all sincere Catholics regard it as a grave moral obligation to give their children a Catholic education if possible, Mr. Blanshard is really saying that Catholicism is "un-American and intolerant." In his book, no good Catholic can be a good American.

#### Rabbis riddle secularism

Back in August, 1947, President Truman wrote to Pope Pius XII: "I believe with heartfelt conviction that those who do not recognize their responsibility to Almighty God cannot meet their full duty toward their fellow men." In November of the same year, the Catholic hierarchy of the United States, in laying their finger on secularism as the root cause of modern disorders, declared: "This is God's world and if we are to play a man's part in it, we must first get down on our knees and, with humble hearts, acknowledge God's place in His world." These two striking and dynamic challenges to the thesis of many liberals that men under their own power alone can solve the problems of the world were underscored on June 27 at the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held in Kansas City, Missouri. These Jewish leaders adopted a resolution criticizing various Jewish agencies and lay leaders for denying the primacy of the Synagogue and for turning the role of religious leaders "over to budget committees, fund-raising agencies and social service experts." The assembled rabbis authorized one of their members to seek the cooperation of all religious forces, including Catholic and Protestant, to plan for religious instruction for public school children. They deplored the lack of spiritual values, which were seen to be one sure remedy for the world's ills, and they called upon their fellow Jews to avoid the "idolatries" of materialism and secularism. In the struggle of all sound-thinking men to keep our nation's traditions on the same high plane which marked their beginnings-a religious-minded plane-the support of this conference of rabbis is indeed welcome reinforcement. Truth is always truth, whether one man proclaims it or a chorus. Its impact on society, however, grows with the numbers who proclaim it. There are signs that all religious-minded Americans are beginning to raise a concerted voice. It may be that the organ voice of truth about man's relation to God is swelling up in the United States to drown out the Hamelin-pipe tootlings of secu-

#### New farm legislation

In its closing hours, the Eightieth Congress put through legislation providing continued price-supports for agricultural products at fairly high levels. Otherwise, the wartime program would simply have lapsed at the end of 1948. Few legislators would care to face farmer voters in November after allowing that to happen; for farmers continue to pay high prices for what they buy, but have grave doubts as to future prices for products they sell, especially if world agriculture produces more abundantly. Under the new legislation, supports for wheat and other grains continue at 90 per cent of parity until the end of 1949. In 1950, provided the long-range program is not revised by the next Congress, the new schedules of support go into effect. The general result of these will be gradually to lower agricultural prices, while achieving greater equilibrium within the farm economy itself. The exact point-between 60 and 90 per cent of parity-at which government supports begin to operate is determined by the volume of supplies on hand for each particular commodity. However, broader discretionary powers are given the Secretary of Agriculture in determining the parity price, so that needed adjustments can prevent one item from getting out of line with the rest. Also, the new parity formula takes account of recent developments by giving weight to a ten-year moving average of farm prices. The long-range parity schedules have limitations, already pointed out by those friendly to a sound program. They are quite complicated, without achieving certain advantages of a forward-pricing system for farm products. They assure us gradual price reductions in many commodities, but do not come to grips with the cost-of-living problem faced by urban dwellers as regards meat and dairy products. In the near future, then, we can expect some gradual downward adjustment of farm prices, provided peace lasts. But it will be some years before adequate adjustment between farm

and non-farm prices is achieved. Perhaps that is the penalty for having neglected so long effectively to integrate agriculture into the rest of the economy.

#### Voice of the South, episcopal

Two significant utterances during the past month of June are a pointed reminder that the loud-mouthed racebaiting and "white-supremacy" politicians do not necessarily represent the better and ever-growing mind of the South. One is from a bishop, the other from a college president. Bishop Emmet M. Walsh, of Charleston, S. C., himself a native Southerner, took sharply to task the South Carolina State Democratic Committee for the wording of the oath which it imposed upon prospective voters. As originally worded, the oath required voters to swear that they believed in and would support "the social, religious and educational separation of the races." Opposition on the part of Catholic and Protestant citizens caused the Committee to omit the word "religious" but, for the rest, the oath has been permitted to stand. It further requires the voter to swear that he is "opposed to and will work against any FEPC law and other Federal law relating to employment within the States." In his public statement opposing these parts of the oath, Bishop Walsh wrote:

The oath prescribed by the State Democratic Committee as a prequisite for voting in the Democratic primary cannot be regarded as anything but an unwise and unjust invasion of a citizen's right to his convictions on matters of grave importance to the welfare of our State and all its citizens.

It is alien to our American traditions to attempt to enforce thought control under penalty of disenfran-

chisement at the polls.

Evidently the Committee's decision was made at a time of confusion in the face of a problem that requires sound deliberation. The Committee owes it to itself, to the Democratic party in the State and to the citizens of our State to repeal this rule now so clearly unwise, unjust and un-American.

The Committee may neglect the Bishop's counsel, but it cannot obliterate the judgement that he has recorded on its actions.

#### Voice of the South, educational

Speaking on the topic, "World Citizenship and the Unfinished Business of Democracy," at the annual Commencement of Spring Hill College on May 25, Father W. Patrick Donnelly, S.J., president of the College, found that the politicians' clamor against the Civil Rights program has been met by a "conspiracy of silence." "What do we learn," he asked, "from our 'centers of learning'—all the scores of colleges and universities of the South engaged in the training of thinkers?" And to his own question he replied:

So far I hear only silence. Let Spring Hill College break that silence! Let the college that was the first institution of higher learning to raise the torch of education in Alabama also light and lead the way to full democracy in Alabama and the Southland. . . . Civil Rights? Spring Hill College is for them! For ourselves and for every other citizen, regardless of creed or color. Who, may I ask, can be for real

democracy and stand against them? Civil rights?
There is only one in a democracy—the vote!
South Carolina and Alabama seem to be pointing a very clear way to a real and vital, not a merely semantic, democracy.

#### Ammunition for critics

Those who have the cause of Catholic letters at heart will vote a wreath to Rev. Neil Kevin for his article on "The Expression of Religious Sentiment" in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record (reprinted in the July Catholic Mind). "The literary critic in the field of religious expression," says he,

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is hardly ever accepted there. Badly balanced zealots will go so far as to call his adverse criticism want of reverence. The prejudice is against the critic, but logic is on his side. He holds for the distinction between religious sentiment and the wording of it; and for as high a standard of criticism in the religious sphere as obtains in the secular.

The laws of expression do not change because the subject becomes religious. The problem of ex-

pression, of style, is inescapable.

The article goes on to examine the freshness that distinguished the expression of religious sentiment in earlier ages, and to account for its usual staleness today. It is recommended reading for writers, critics, readers—and for anybody else. After all, as the article reminds us in Erasmus' words: "God does not much mind bad grammar, but He does not take any particular pleasure in it."

#### Twinkle, twinkle little Star

On June 23 the New York Star-"formerly PM"-began publication "with high hopes and a good deal of humility." There is no evidence that the new publisher, Bartley C. Crum, or the new editor, Joseph Barnes, finds the inheritance of the personnel and tradition of Marshall Field's PM a humiliation engendering humility. Yet, writing a post-mortem appraisal of PM in the July Atlantic Monthly, Robert Lasch, a former Nieman Fellow. quotes a sometime PM staff member as declaring that the Communists continuously bedeviled the paper. "They milked it, blackmailed it, discredited it and drove the very people it needed most out of the shop," he alleges. Announced as being against people who push other people around, PM in the eight years of its existence did a considerable amount of pushing on its own. Reporters lacking in reverence for Stalinism, including James Wechsler, chief of the Washington Bureau, and Milton Murray, then right-wing president of the Newspaper Guild, were promptly pushed out the window. Fair game for pushing have been the Vatican; the Bishops of the Administrative Board of NCWC, who thought religion might help shape the peace; Archbishop Stepinac for opposing Tito's "democracy"; capitalistic advertisers, the supposed seducers who resisted temptation when finally approached; and Draft Board No. 44, which invited Editor Ralph Ingersoll, the psychoanalyst's problem child, to try saving America in an Army uniform. But the Star finds PM's past the basis of its high hopes and "starts as an optimistic newspaper." Many people are watching the little Star twinkle and are wondering what it is.

# Washington Front

Someone had better do something about the national nominating conventions of the major political parties, or the public, the delegates and everyone concerned will get sick and tired of them. If there ever was a travesty on orderly procedure, it was the Republican convention at Philadelphia. Its real business could have been completed in two days, yet it dragged on through five.

Why? Partly because the convention pattern goes back to the lung-and-larynx days of windy oratory, partly because someone thinks the visitors want bread-and-circuses stuff, partly because the convention city puts up a big chunk of money to pay convention expenses and then, in turn, the local inkeepers, restaurateurs, vintners and greengrocers want it to drag on so they can get their money back from the out-of-town customers.

There is a wearying cavalcade of prize orators and sopranos who do their best-which generally isn't enough -to pump life into thousands who sit through sweltering hours wishing the business of choosing a Presidential nominee, which is what they have come for, would finally arrive. Praise of party reaches flood stage, invocations verge on filibuster, and it may just be possible that, with no derogation of fine patriotic impulse, even the Star Spangled Banner can be overdone.

In this year 1948, Philadelphia dished up \$200,000 to make the GOP happy and pay convention expenses. There was no guarantee how long the show would run, but it is a fact that hotel contracts were written for five days.

Wednesday of convention week offered a fair example of the stalling that went on. The convention met at 11 A.M., fluttered through some minor business, adjourned in about two hours. It was time for nominating speeches to begin, but the excuse for not beginning them was that if they were delayed until that evening, better radio time would be available. So delegate visitors were free to spend afternoon and early evening idling about. The convention took up again at 9 P.M. and, after the usual preliminaries were out of the way, the nominating began when Senator Martin of Pennsylvania began to unwind on Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's virtues. Then the oratory bubbled for six hours, until about 4 A.M. Friday, through the nominating of Messrs. Dewey, Taft, Stassen, Vandenberg, Warren, Baldwin and MacArthur. By that time the galleries had had enough and were nearly emptied, many delegates had given up exhausted, and the "good radio time" idea had become a self-defeating thing.

The whole performance raises the question as to whether the main idea is to provide spectacle and carnival for the city bidding highest for these meetings or to choose candidates for President and Vice-President. A fair measure of color and drama and excitement is in the best U.S. political tradition, but a marathon in phony stage-managing is something else. CHARLES LUCEY

# Underscorings

The new Catholic Directory (New York. P. J. Kenedy & Sons) is just out. A quick look at its valuable "General Summary" reveals that the Catholic population of the U.S. stands at 26,075,697 (as against last year's 25,268,-173) and that there were 115,214 converts (compared with the 100,628 of last year). There are 41,747 priests (an increase of 1,277), 7,335 brothers (an increase of 397) and 141,083 nuns (an increase of 520). Of these, 6,779 priests, 3,445 brothers and 79,952 nuns are engaged in teaching. The number of lay teachers in Catholic schools is put at 11,396 (1,302 more than a year ago). Enrollments in Catholic schools have again increased-220,226 in colleges and universities (a rise of 45,106), 506,397 in high schools (a rise of only 3,430) and 2,268,840 in elementary schools (a rise of 82,275). It is estimated that a total of 4,138,695 Catholic youth are under Catholic instruction, including 1,078,436 enrolled in special religious instruction classes. How many of these will be affected by the consequences of the Supreme Court decision on "released time" it is hard to

The Hierarchy ruling the 23 archdioceses, 100 dioceses and 1 vicariate-apostolic, numbers 4 Cardinals, 21 arch-

bishops, 153 bishops and 32 abbots. There are 14,905 parishes-an increase over last year of 163. The total number of students preparing for the priesthood in diocesan seminaries and religious institutes is 23,701. Especially good is the Catholic hospital record: 718 hospitals, having a bed capacity of 94,543 and serving (last year) 4,153,875 patients. Besides, there are 106 special hospitals or sanatoria with a bed capacity of 8,630 and treating 56,157 patients within the year just past. Student nurses to the number of 30,331 are in 377 nursing schools.

A committee to provide scholarships to Catholic colleges for Catholic pupils attending public high schools has been formed in Detroit by four public-school teachers and two newspaper women. These pupils win a goodly share of scholarships offered annually by non-Catholic colleges; and that's the rub. No scholarships in Catholic colleges are open to them, even though most of the Catholics in public high schools are there simply because there aren't enough parochial high schools to accommodate them. Attendance at non-Catholic colleges too cannot but result in serious loss to Catholic leadership. So far, the committee has garnered two scholarships at Mercy College, and one each at the University of Detroit, Siena Heights College and Marygrove College. It's a very worthy cause. Many should contribute to it. Similar committees could be formed in other cities. The Detroit committee is headed by Margaret Gahagen, 1001 E. Jefferson Ave., and Ann Leszczynski. A. P. F.

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# Editorials

# Dewey and Warren

Two months ago, chances were extremely poor that Governor Dewey would overcome an uninterrupted Republican tradition against nominating for the Presidency a once-defeated candidate. That he won so easily at Philadelphia, on the third ballot, over the hastily organized coalition against him is a tribute to his own skill as a politician and to the efficiency and shrewdness of his team.

Already at forty-six a veteran in politics, Thomas E. Dewey has learned his trade well. Although he cannot yet rival the master politico of them all, the late Franklin Roosevelt, the years are in his favor and there is no telling to what heights this relatively young man may some day ascend.

Much will depend, of course, in the event that he wins the Presidency next November, on the manner in which he meets the challenge of that high office. It is one thing to be, during a time of war and prosperity, an efficient administrator and a successful State Governor. It is another thing to deal with a Congress jealous of its prerogatives, to chart a wise course of national policy and to grapple with international affairs at one of the most critical periods in all history. For to be a major figure on the stage of American politics, a man must be more than a successful politician: he must be also a great statesman. Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and all the other Presidents who have left their mark in history were skilled and astute politicians. But if they had not added to this talent a genius for statecraft, they would have taken their undistinguished places among the minor leaders of the Republic.

While suspending judgment, then, on Governor Dewey's capacity for statesmanship, we believe that even his enemies will concede a large measure of promise in his speech accepting the nomination. There was in that address not a single grain of comfort for the anachronistic nationalists and back-to-normalcy reactionaries of his party. Governor Dewey recognized our times for what they are, a period of "grave challenge" demanding the best that is in us. He told the delegates:

United we can match this challenge with depth of understanding and largeness of spirit; with a unity which is above recrimination, above partisanship, above self-interest.

The unity of which he spoke and which seemed to him of the highest importance was more "than a matter of things and measures. It is most of all spiritual." And the Governor continued:

Our problem is not outside ourselves. Our problem is within ourselves. We have found the means to blow the world, physically, apart. Spiritually, we have yet to find the means to put together the world's broken pieces, to bind up its wounds, to make a good society, a community of men of good will that fits our dreams. Cath past Cath tant of a blan

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There was to be no turning backward. The twentieth century had made enormous material progress, but its failures were also enormous: two world wars and the worst economic depression in history. "We must," said the Governor bluntly, "learn to do better."

That is not the language of a spokesman for reaction. More reassuring even than his words was Mr. Dewey's choice of a running mate. To a considerable extent he owed his nomination to Mr. Grundy of the notoriously high-tariff Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association and to Representative Halleck of Indiana, who broke the favorite-son front against him and got his bandwagon off to a flying start. What more natural than to give the isolationists and reactionaries their reward, the Vice Presidency? But Mr. Dewey told the delegates that he came to them "unfettered by a single obligation or promise to any living person," and for his running mate he chose California's popular and liberal-minded Governor, Earl Warren.

The Republicans have nominated a strong ticket. It is a ticket which reflects the more enlightened elements of the Party. It will be hard to beat in November.

# Governments and heresy

When the recently formed American Catholic Theological Society met in Chicago on June 28, it selected as one of its major topics for discussion the Catholic doctrine on the relationship of Church and State.

No theme could be more timely, since this question is so closely linked with that of the liberties of religion in the field of education. Any claim that the Catholic schools are not receiving an equitable treatment under the terms of our American Constitution will naturally arouse a query as to what the Church, in any case, may rightfully expect from any state according to the Church's own doctrine.

When Catholic teaching on this subject is discussed with those who do not share our faith, the broader query is likely to lead to a more specific one. It runs something like this: "Yes, as long as you Catholics remain in the minority, you are glad to profit by any rights touching religious freedom that happen to be available, under the U.S. Constitution or under any other. But in the supposition that you become the overwhelming majority, and supposing we are all living under the so-called 'Catholic State,' would a Catholic be free to deny that the state-or government—has a right to repress religious dissidents, even to the extent of using coercive sanctions?"

We are all familiar with the dishonest and hypocritical

ways in which this question has often been aimed at Catholics: dishonest, because the plain facts of history—past and present—are so distorted in a conventional anti-Catholic "Black Legend"; hypocritical, in view of Protestantism's past record of persecution through the agency of a church-controlled state. Hence no Catholic need be blamed if he tosses such a question rather impatiently aside, especially when he sees the present attempts that are being made to force materialistic secularism upon the youth of the country by means of state-supported schools. He is not apt to be much impressed by *Time* magazine's righteous disturbance over Catholic doctrines in its issue of June 28.

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Nevertheless, the fact that a question is often wrongly asked does not signify that it may never be asked at all. Making due allowance for insincerities and hypocrisies, there is still room for a sincere query as to what is the real, unchanging Catholic "thesis" on the power of the state to repress heretics, independent of any "hypothesis" that may be created by the passing circumstances of any given country, epoch, society or regime.

given country, epoch, society or regime.

It is significant, therefore, that at the Chicago meeting above mentioned, an attempt was made by Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., Editor of *Theological Studies* and a former Staff member of AMERICA, to examine in some detail this very point. "The question," said Father Murray,

obviously raises the whole problem of the rights and power of government in the field of religion. And as this problem is analogous to the problem of the right and power of the Church in the field of temporal affairs, its solution must depend on, and be made harmonious with, the solution adopted for the latter problem.

It was Father Murray's suggestion that "the asserted right of a 'Catholic government' to repress heresy rests on, and derives from a concept of the power of the Church in temporal matters that is indefensible today." Hence a Catholic may correctly assert such a supposed "right," in Father Murray's conclusion, "only if he is speaking relatively," that is to say, in relation to certain specific regimes which have occurred in the past. This hypothesis no longer exists:

It will not return, and should not return to the world even if, by the grace of God, religious unity should return to the world. Consequently, the right and duty of the Christian prince to suppress heresy, correctly asserted in this hypothesis, but relatively to it, enjoys no absolute and permanent status in virtue of Catholic principle as such.

In a lengthy and careful analysis, Father Murray strives to disengage from various irrelevant elements the unchanging core of Catholic teaching on the "indirect power" of the Church over human governments, as well as the ways in which governments can assist the Church in the fulfillment of its divine mission without departing from the exercise of their proper function. This is an opening move in what will doubtless develop into a long and earnestly contested debate. Whatever may be the debate's final outcome, it is important, for the position of the Church in the modern world, that this question be considerably clarified.

## Doctors and the color line

We note with regret that on June 23, at its Chicago meeting, the American Medical Association refused to approve a change in its constitution by which doctors could not be refused membership in the Association for reasons of race or color. The amendment, proposed by the Medical Society of the State of New York, would require the constituent associations of AMA not to exclude applicants except for "professional or ethical reasons." It was opposed by the Medical Association of the State of Georgia, whose views prevailed with AMA's House of Delegates.

There is much more in this than a refusal by the AMA to take part in a crusade for the betterment of race relations. It is a refusal to dissociate itself from a course of action which works serious injustice to thousands of

Negro and other minority-group physicians.

In seventeen States and the District of Columbia the practice of county medical societies excludes Negroes from membership in the AMA. And unless a doctor is a member of the AMA, he will not be eligible for certification as a specialist by the various national certifying boards. That means exclusion from wide areas of hospital practice and a consequent limitation on professional advancement. The AMA is therefore in about the same position as a tightly closed union with a tightly closed shop which reserves the best jobs for white workers. The courts have had some sharp words to say about practices like that in the field of industrial relations.

Granted that, being a confederation of autonomous groups, the AMA has no coercive powers over its county or State units, one would at least have expected some repudiation of a policy which, in the words of the resolution offered by the Medical Society of New York State, "constitutes an affront to our colleagues, a degradation of the honored traditions of our profession and a violation of our American democratic ideal." It constitutes also, as we have shown above, a policy whereby one section of the medical profession is preventing another section from making advance in the science of medicine. That is a violation of natural ethics, however it may be judged by medical ethics.

This country is not so fortunate in the matter of medical service that it can afford to have large numbers of its doctors blocked off from the hospital practice and the specialization that are essential to the progress of medicine. Medical science suffers—and therefore the American people, and the people of the world suffer-every time that an intelligent researcher finds the way of research closed to him, or littered with so many stumbling blocks that he resigns himself in despair to routine mediocrity. Since the American Medical Association is, in a sense, the natural guardian of the profession of medicine in this country-unless it feels like handing that function over to the Government-the American people look to it to point out those defects in the system that work harm to the people's health. We cannot but feel that this is one time when the AMA has not properly fulfilled its trust.

# Berlin showdown

Announcement by Trygve Lie that he has shelved plans to bring the Berlin situation before the Security Council would seem to indicate that the Western Powers have little hope of a solution from that direction. However, the great value of open discussion of the issue before the UN should not be forgotten. The action of the Berlin City Council, in defiance of the Soviet authorities, reflects what must be the sentiments of millions in Central Europe.

Tactical considerations and fear of another Russian veto in the Security Council may momentarily dictate caution in forcing Russia to a showdown in UN. But if danger lurks in that direction, even more dangerous would be the sort of appeasement and endless delay which may come out of renewed Four-Power Conferences at top levels. As Winston Churchill has pointed out, we do not want another Munich, and Berlin seems such.

Politburo motivation is never simple, nor can even careful students of Soviet affairs be sure they have hit upon the reasons behind Soviet strategy at any given moment. But, so far as can be judged, the Berlin squeeze is a delaying tactic. It does not indicate Russia is ready for war, if it can be held off. Having balked so far on a German settlement, Kremlin leaders seem prepared to renew discussions on Germany's future. From their record, we can rest assured that the common good of Europe—except in Soviet terms—is not the motive.

Renewal of discussions with the USSR on Germany would mean indefinite stalling of economic reform in the Western zones. It would mark the end of plans for formation of a Western German state. Meanwhile the Russians could put the finishing touches on Eastern Germany and be prepared to evacuate, if the Conference so decided, with assurance that a Soviet puppet regime could carry on. Should the Western Allies abandon Berlin, to avoid further suffering and conflict, the Russians would be masters of the former German capital. Through their Eastern Zone government they could constantly embarrass the Western "splinter state" in the eyes of the Germans.

Soviet non-cooperation and non-adherence to the Potsdam Declaration, which paved the way for the present impasse, may easily be forgotten amid Russian protestations of self-righteous concern for Germany's future. That is what the Soviet strategists probably think. Their tough policy in Berlin has the added advantages of warning possible recalcitrants in the Eastern European governments, of confusing the Germans, and of making subsequent concessions appear like Soviet conciliation.

Meanwhile internal French politics are exploited by the CP to make it appear that Britain and the US are appeasers of Germany. From all these maneuverings, we can be sure the Politburo expects to emerge with a tighter hold on Central Europe, and with the Western Allies in a position similar to that following Munich.

Whatever our Government does to meet the challenge of the Russian squeeze on Berlin, it will not change the ultimate Soviet objectives. The only hope now, short of open fighting, seems an internal breakdown within the Soviet structure. The optimistic are neralding the Yugoslav break as a hopeful sign. They should remember that such predictions about Hitler failed to materialize, and that the Stalinist clique has thus far handled all incipient rebellions with efficient and ruthless dispatch,

No sane man wants to turn Berlin into a Pearl Harbor. But let us not underestimate our adversary. As George Fielding Eliot pointed out in his column recently, we are dealing with a system which of set purpose has brought up a generation of "civil servants" without conscience or fear of God. They could starve out Berlin without spoiling their appetites.

## "Universal Public Service"

"The future of our course as a nation," wrote Mr. David Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in the New York *Times* Magazine for June 27, "will not be determined by a few hectic weeks of a political campaign, but by the moral purposes and convictions of a people, in short, by the underlying philosophy of our generation."

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The philosophy with which his generation graduated from college, he went on, was that of "taking care of number one." There was a consequent almost total lack of interest in the "arts of government, the whole process of government," but the philosophy proved itself inadequate and false. Today, accordingly, Mr. Lilienthal commends another philosophy: "Be an active, living part of the times." For this end, he recommends to every citizen an informed interest in government; more, he thinks the times demand UPS—Universal Public Service. He proposes

that, out of the best and most productive years of each man's life, he should carve a segment in which he puts his private career aside to serve his community and his country, and thereby to serve his children, his neighbors, his fellow men, and the cause of freedom

Whatever be the practicability of Mr. Lilienthal's suggestion, the concept is noble and suggests some examination of conscience for Catholic educators.

For what Mr. Lilienthal is insisting on, though he may not be familiar with the phrase, is legal justice, that justice which regulates the relationship of citizen to state, and the plane on which he pitches his insistence is the plane of supererogation.

For our educators, the question is this: though we do not weary of urging perfection in the sphere of personal morality, do we not frequently forget entirely to urge civic perfection as well? We are at pains to point out that the precepts of moral theology, when applied to personal life, are but minimum demands, not the ideal of Christian asceticism, but when it comes to their application to life as a citizen, we are content to excuse less than perfection relying on such distinctions as "penal laws" and the like

Mr. Lilienthal's remarks are a reminder that it never has been enough and most certainly is not enough in today's world merely to be an ordinary citizen. The ideal and preeminently the Catholic ideal, is self-sacrificing perfect citizenship.

# The reserve clause in baseball contracts

Francis A. Moore

Father Francis A. Moore, S.J., himself an enthusiastic baseball player, made a thorough study of the moral aspects of the baseball contract in preparation for writing his

thesis for the licentiate in theology, which he received at Alma College, Alma, California.

Baseball is called the great American game. As a game it is great, captivating millions of Americans; but as a business, professional baseball in some of its aspects is neither great nor American. According to the principles of our democratic nation, labor enjoys a certain dignity and certain rights. The employes of professional baseball are so many chattels and, in the last analysis, their only absolute right is to forsake their career.

The popularity of baseball as a game has to a great extent fogged the public mind regarding the unjust employment system used by baseball's management. The contract between owner and player contains what is called the "reserve clause." This clause states that anyone who wishes to be a professional baseball player, even after he has fulfilled the ordinary terms of his contract, is owned forever by the club with which he first signs, or by any other club to which his contract may be assigned. From the time a boy signs with Sweetwater of the Longhorn League, until he retires from the game, he plays where he's told—anywhere from Andalusia in Alabama to Pocatello in Idaho. If he doesn't like it, he can go back to the farm or get himself a job in a service station.

In signing any bilateral contract, the parties must be free. When you buy milk, the merchant is free to sell or not to sell to you; you are free to buy from him or from someone else or do without. But if all the merchants organize and agree to charge \$5 a quart for milk, you are being forced to pay an exorbitant price. You are still free not to drink milk—but maybe your health demands it.

A St. Louis Cardinal scout did not say to Whitey Kurowski: "Here are two one-year contracts, one with the reserve clause, the other without it; sign whichever you want." He said in so many words: "Here's a contract with the reserve clause. Either sign it or go back to a Reading mill." When Sam Breadon, a couple of years ago, would not give his star third baseman what he asked, Kurowski was asked if he was going to dicker with Pasquel for a job in Mexico. He answered that, as a young man with a wife and three children, he could not afford to incur the displeasure of organized baseball. A ball player has an economic six-shooter stuck in his ribs when he negotiates with his employers.

In his encyclical letter On the Condition of the Working Classes, Pope Leo XIII wrote that "if through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice." In baseball the player is forced to sign this "reserve clause" type of contract. Tightly organized, the owners have agreed they will sign no player to any contract lacking this reserve clause. Any owner who failed to

respect this agreement would be signing his own banishment from baseball.

The only force this type of contract has comes from the owners' ironclad agreement to use it, and no other. It is the only contract of its kind in industrial America, and its continued existence is due to management's cleverness in avoiding legal battles that would involve the precise point of the reserve clause. When the American League was first formed, Connie Mack talked Napoleon Lajoie into jumping his three-year contract with the Phillies. In the ensuing court battles, the Supreme Courts of Missouri and New York favored Lajoie, the Court of Pennsylvania dissenting. But the Justices didn't even get around to considering the reserve clause; the point argued was whether Lajoie was bound to play three years under a contract that gave his owner the right to fire him on ten days notice, with no reciprocal right on the part of the player. It is too bad that those courts-or some since-did not get around to investigating the far more insidious aspects of the reserve clause. Let Clark (The Fox) Griffith prove his claim that the reserve clause has legal sanction.

Once the players are nicely shackled, the owners' power of legislating to their own benefit is practically unlimited. It is almost nauseating to read the organization's Blue Book: in it is such legislation as the draft law, according to which a Triple-A minor league club can retain the services of its star pitcher for three years, even though an opulent major league team would double or treble his salary if they could hire him. Commissioner Chandler, who draws his authority and salary from the vote of the owners, may determine that the "best interests of the game"—which can easily mean the best interests of his constituents, the owners—require that a player be declared permanently ineligible, banished from all future employ by any professional team in the United States and Canada. That's too much!

Those interested in this problem must realize that playing ball day after day is hard work, particularly under a sweltering sun. Bill Werber once said: "It should be called 'working ball.' " Salaries are usually far below what the public imagines, and in the minor leagues are frequently a mere pittance. Under Branch Rickey, some players on what some sports writers call the Cardinal chain gang received \$25 a week. The game uses the best years of a man's life, years in which otherwise he would be establishing himself in a business or profession. Half the season the player is on the road, carrying a suitcase in one hand and dishing out tips with the other. And we must not identify professional baseball with only sixteen major league teams, whose players ordinarily do not suffer greatly; but forced to sign this reserve clause contract are the players of 24 AAA-league teams, 16 AA-

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league teams, 26 A-league teams, 68 B-league teams, 112 C-league teams and 190 D-league teams. Adding them all up, they represent no insignificant gathering of American working men.

While condemning the injustice of the contract, we face the question: could baseball survive without using the reserve clause? An executive of an American League team once wrote: "The reserve clause has always been a real source of argument for and against; but I do know that if there was no reserve clause we would not have any baseball, as players would go from one club to another each year." Certainly they would move if management did not provide working conditions good enough to entice them to remain in their present employ. It does not appear obvious, however, that baseball owners would not be able to retain the services of their employes just as all other American employers do, namely, by providing a just salary and suitable working conditions. Thinking they must chain down their players to hold them, league owners must either lack faith in their ability to satisfy their men or else have a perverted notion of the nature of a ball player. Players are not aimless transients; they would not move from team to team just for the pleasure of moving. They need a reason and, if they are given a better reason for staying than for moving, they will stay.

Given their choice of clubs, most young men would play with a team in their home town or nearby. Or an out-of-town boy will settle down where he's playing, if he knows the club cannot ship him around arbitrarily. He'll buy a home and raise a family. If he's ambitious, perhaps he'll oversee a small business or hold a partnership in a firm, and become an adopted son of the city. A line-up of "home-town boys" pulls the customers through the turnstiles. The fans are loyal to their own kids, just as small-town citizens continue to patronize local merchants, even though a chain store moves in with its own personnel and lower prices. Very likely the club rosters would undergo less change each year without the reserve contract than they do now when players are moved at the whim of the owner instead of at the desire of him who has to move.

An objection arises to the effect that, with the deletion of the reserve clause, the wealthier clubs would attract all the top talent, making the pennant races uneven. The answer is that, in the first place, money talks in any language. Even in the present system, the money teams as a general rule have the best clubs, using their wealth to lure youngsters into the fold, to purchase players from other clubs, to buy farm teams that produce talent. In any industry, successful businessmen attain buying power beyond the capacity of their lesser rivals, as the natural result of their financial risk and their greater business acumen.

The unthinking defender of baseball's slave system throws up his hands and cries that without the reserve clause the Yankees would sign up Ted Williams and Stan Musial to flank Joe DiMaggio in the outfield, making the pennant race a runaway. But would they-or could they? Where the supply is less, the demand is greater. Williams and Musial are smart enough to realize they are

worth more to Boston and St. Louis than they are to New York. In fact, it is not fantastic to believe the teams are less on a par now than they would be without the use of the present contract. Many wise players would figure it advantageous to play for a poorer club in which their services would be more appreciated, realizing that the club would improve, attendance would increase and salaries rise. Especially would we witness such a migration among players who ride the bench because they are slightly inferior to men playing their position and are retained as "accident insurance." These realize that they improve only by playing.

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Moreover, erasing the reserve clause would mean a stop to the selling of players, an effect that would equalize the bargaining power of the clubs. Today a poor club without a farm system can usually improve itself only by purchasing at enormous prices from other clubs the right to employ a player. Frequently this purchase turns out to be a bad investment. Without the reservation in their contract, players would be free agents, and the money which poorer clubs now use to buy players could then be expended to entice players into their employ by the American practice of paying a good salary and providing suitable working conditions. A queer business, this buying and selling of players! Sam Breadon paid \$75 to sign the two Cooper brothers, let them win games for him several years at mediocre wages, then sold them for \$235,000. Where did Breadon's right to that money come from? He paid the Coopers a salary; they more than repaid him by their services. Other employers should have the right to hire the Coopers by the normal process of making them a better offer. That's the way other industries operate.

Down the drain with the reserve clause would go the effectiveness of the farm systems owned by the major league teams. No tears need be shed over this, because the present arrangement makes a farce of every minor league pennant race. The parent club can, at any time, send down enough talent to win the pennant; it becomes a question of which management wants its minor league team to win. Occasionally the moguls let an independently owned team carry off the so-called honors-an unnatural set-up to foist off on a public that likes its competition legitimate!

Players should work under the same arrangement as that given baseball managers and coaches. When the term of Joe McCarthy's contract expires, Tom Yawkey can rehire him or not; McCarthy can sign again or not, just as he wants. But Yawkey does not own McCarthy; Joe can sign with anyone. Ted Williams should have the same privilege. After all, that is only giving Williams the same right enjoyed by the stenographers in the ticket office.

If every other form of industry can maintain stability of personnel without the ball-and-chain method, baseball can duplicate the feat. Minor difficulties would have to be ironed out, but organized baseball has a genius for legislation and, if forced to, would find a way to obviate all obstacles to the continued prosperity of baseball-prosperity for the owner and the player.

# The family wage in Spain: II

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Father Feeney, S.J., here supplements his original discussion of the family-allowance system in Spain (AMERICA, August 16, 1947) with detailed information on the set-up of the

system and amounts paid. Father Feeney is a teacher of Spanish in Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

William H. Feeney

On July 18, 1948, Spain will have completed ten years of its social-justice experiment known as Los Subsidios Familiares—a policy by which workmen with children receive subsidies to augment their wages, in amounts which vary according to the number of their children under fourteen years of age.

An idea of the extent of the program is indicated by the fact that business enterprises making monthly returns to the central family-subsidy office for the month of January, 1946, numbered 175,796. Employed by these enterprises were 4,725,184 workmen, of whom 1,254,147 were receiving allowances. The beneficiary children reached the number of 3,468,217 in that same month. In the first quarter of 1945 the sum paid out had amounted to 611,118,636 pesetas (\$55,000,677.24, evaluating the peseta at nine cents).

According to the plan, the subsidy begins with the second child and, in line with the law of July, 1943 (which represents the third increase in the rate), pays the following amounts:

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Number of	Monthly subsidy		Daily subsidy	
children	Pesetas	Dollars	Pesetas	Dollars
2	40	\$3.60	1.60	.14
3	65	5.95	2.60	.23
4	90	8.10	3.60	.32
5	120	10.80	4.80	.43
6	160	14.40	6.40	.57
7	280	25.20	11.20	1.00
8	400	36.00	16.00	1.44
9	540	48.00	21.60	1.94
10	700	63.00	28.00	2.52
11	880	79.20	35.20	3.06
12	1,080	97.20	43.20	3.88

A description of the system employed in collecting the funds for these subsidies, and an account of their distribution, will give an idea of the chief factors in the operation of the Spanish family-allowance movement.

A fundamental principle in the Government's plan has been to avoid direct taxation. The first plan employed in collecting the funds was to impose a six-per-cent tax on payrolls, one per cent of which was deducted from the workman's pay, the other five per cent being the amount supplied by the company. All proceeds went into a common pool, from which the subsidies flowed back to the children of workers.

This system worked well enough for industrial labor, but was found unsuitable for agricultural and cattle workers. In the rural districts the plan ran into the problem of seasonal employment—which meant practically no intake for the pool during the winter season. In addition, many small farmers who also had dire need of a subsidy cultivated their own plot of land. Since they were not classed as hired workmen, they were not affiliated with the movement. A commission of specialists, after making a thorough study of the situation, recommended that an

additional ten per cent be added to the land- and cattletax as a substitute for the six-per-cent payroll tax. This plan was adopted, and now even the small farmer has a right to a family subsidy. The rural branch of the subsidy plan has had a phenomenal growth, distributing a total of 636,183,704 pesetas (\$57,256,533) among 8,695,-520 beneficiaries in 1945.

Next, the attention of the directors of the project was focused on the fishermen who live along Spain's vast and varied coastline. Clearly, neither the system for collecting quotas from industry nor from agriculture was suitable to sea workers. A study of the special conditions of this branch of the national economy led to the levying of a three-per-cent tax on the gross catch of the fishing vessels. This single tax gives the fishermen the right to old-age pensions as well as family subsidies. Operations for the year 1945 show that 11,410,927 pesetas (\$1,026,983) went to 527,367 beneficiaries.

Who handles the distribution of the subsidies through which considerably more than a billion pesetas were received by family heads in 1945? Is the work done by business or government, or both?

The trend in Spain has been to have private enterprises distribute the allowances to their respective employes. According to law, five types of companies must pay the subsidies directly. Their bookkeeping departments must deduct the workman's quota from his pay; the company's contribution figures in the administrative expense; the company must pay out the allowances to the family workers. The five groups in this class are: 1) all public corporations; 2) all enterprises in which the Government has invested capital or has the right to intervene; 3) the lessees or concessionaires of monopolies; 4) business enterprises whose capital is 50,000 pesetas (\$4,500) or more; 5) business enterprises regularly employing ten or more men.

Employes of the Federal Government, of State governments and of cities and towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants have a choice between having the deductions and subsidies handled by their own pay clerks or by the family-allowance office. If they choose the second method they cannot change to the first; but if they choose the first they may change to the second.

Companies not included in the five groups listed above may solicit permission to handle their own allowances; and permission is granted if the company is competent and satisfies the inspectors. If the company pays directly, it must make returns to the central office in January, April, July and October for the preceding quarter. If, however, there is a balance in favor of the company, the settlement can be made each month. About three-fourths of the companies handle their own allowances.

It is perhaps in order to compare the system of collect-

ing quotas and distributing subsidies in Spain with that recommended by the Australian hierarchy. After twenty-five years of experience with family allowances, these prelates recommend that Australia change its system from the present Federal set-up to a system of income pools managed by industry. The principle of decentralization or subsidiarity is evidently one of the factors responsible for such a recommendation. Australia does get part of its capital from a payroll tax. The hierarchy wants this percentage increased.

The Spanish plan has anticipated such a recommendation—or, rather, it was originally conceived and developed as a system to be managed principally by business—under legal sanctions, of course. I say principally because the Spanish Government contributes 8,000,000 pesetas (\$720,000) annually to the pool, although this is a very small fraction of the more than a billion pesetas disbursed in 1945.

The Australian hierarchy is content to let the distribution of the allowances remain, for efficiency's sake, in the hands of government. Spain, on the other hand, as we have seen, prefers to entrust this task to business also. The views of the Australian hierarchy on this point are expressed by Mr. A. B. Santa Maria, secretary of the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action: "The hierarchy stands for the principle that, as much as possible, the family wage should be paid from the resources of private industry, even if the distribution of child endowment, for purposes of administrative efficiency, is undertaken by the Government."

The family-allowance system in Spain has now succeeded so well that it finds itself strong enough financially to undertake several other projects of a social nature. For instance, it helps the widows and orphans of the country with the following scale of subsidies:

Persons	Monthly Pesetas	allowance Dollars
Widow alone	25	\$2.25
Widow with one child		4.05
Widow with two children	55	4.95
Widow with three children	65	5.85

For each additional child an added ten pesetas is given. Granting that such a scale is quite conservative, it is at least a beginning, and the amount distributed in this branch reaches quite a figure. In the single department of agriculture in January, 1946, there were 34,888 beneficiaries who received 1,018,759 pesetas (\$91,688.31). The total sum distributed to widows and orphans in 1945 was 14,636,827 pesetas (\$1,417,134).

The whole system, of course, is under government supervision. There is a qualified corps of inspector accountants which has free access to the financial records of all companies. If a company should delay in making its returns, it must pay ten per cent interest on the sum involved. If a workman receives funds unjustly, either because he has failed to report the death of a child, or because a child has reached the age limit or has gone to another region to live at the expense of someone else, he is subject to a variable fine.

Finally, as regards education in social security, the

publications dealing with family allowances in Spain are plentiful and of high quality. Each new step in the practical order is accompanied by a clear explanation of its fundamental principle, its justice, its necessity. The literature aims to make the heads of industry convinced and enthusiastic promoters of the movement rather than reluctant cooperators. One excellent book, Alcance y Finalidad de los Seguros Obligatorios, by Alfonso Esteban Lopez-Aranda, contains a brief history of the guilds in the Middle Ages, and explains the five obligatory securities now functioning in Spain. Also it has an appendix containing samples of all the forms that must be filled out by workmen, bookkeepers, employment managers and others. The interest shown in educating adults in these matters gives assurance that the family-allowance system in Spain is well established and will continue permanently.

# Toward industrial democracy in Holland

E. F. Schroeder

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In the spring of this year, the people of the Netherlands took an important step leading to the establishment of a just social order. A bill was introduced in the Dutch Parliament which will have wide repercussions if it is enacted. The background and occasion for the introduction of this bill may be stated as follows. Contractual labor is not satisfied with its present strength in negotiating for hours and wages. The workingman is demanding more than mere nominal security; he is asking for a share in the control of the strategic factors in economic life. Where, the Dutch workers ask, is there at present any guarantee that capital and ownership will protect the laborer against the hardships of a possible depression?

In the past, the laborer argues, business, too, has suffered from general setbacks; nevertheless, businessmen usually managed to give evidence of fair prosperity. Although industry could not keep the wheels going round, few afflicted industrialists missed out on their champagne and oysters. According to employer reasoning, employes ventured no capital and ran no risks. Still, in times of depression, the stockholder had shares to sell and live on, while the employe could not sell his labor. Now the employes are speaking up: as those who actually take the greatest risks of all, they say, they are entitled to some voice and some control regarding the factors on which the well-being of the enterprise depends.

This same situation, of course, is generally representative of the whole world today. In Western Europe it is especially typical. Here the economic process desperately needs rebuilding or straightening out. In Britain and Belgium the situation has developed a tendency toward socialization, and in some respects has actually led to it. In Czechoslovakia it led to the complete elimination of the private entrepeneur. Long before that country's

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Before the introduction of the recent bill, the Netherlands had nationalized the Circulation Bank, but the purpose of this move had nothing to do with the idea of giving employes a share in management. In fact, such a purpose was explicitly denied, and the Government stated that this one case was not intended to pave the way for further inroads on private enterprise. However, the desire of employes to have some control of industry is as strong in Holland as elsewhere, and it is now becoming audible.

This demand is becoming all the more pressing in Holland because of the fact that the unions, once so successful in their fight for social-security legislation, have recently been making no headway. In endorsing the government-set wage ceilings—praiseworthy as the act was at the time—the unions came dangerously near to suicide, since the power of bargaining on wages was a factor which attracted members.

In consequence of this loss of ground, the unions have shifted their attention from the matter of nominal wages to real wages. Rather than attempting merely to boost wages, they are centering their efforts on trying to make a stable income do more for the wage earner. In other words, the unions have been taking a look at prices.

As a result of this shift, a committee appointed by the Government has been set up, after due consultation with representatives from both union and employer groups, to study the situation. The bill drawn up by the committee is now under consideration by the appropriate committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Its provisions, at this date still secret, are reported by reliable sources to be about as follows:

The bill envisages a "General Business Corporation," headed by a socio-economic council in which employers and employes are equally represented. Each of these two groups will have allotted to it one-third of the seats in the council; the third group, appointed by the Government, is to be selected from among state officials, a good number of whom will probably be university professors. The general idea is to coordinate the work of the council with the economic policy of the Government.

The General Corporation represents the over-all framework within which other specific corporations are to be fitted. For each of these specific corporations, however, a new law will be required.

The present bill favors the building of such corporations along horizontal lines—i.e., they are to be made up of units engaged in the same line of services: the textile industry, dairy products, etc. It will, however, be possible also to create vertical corporations—units covering the entire textile industry, including all branches from the importation of raw materials to the retail sales of finished goods. No corporation will be created unless representative groups of both employers and employes are in favor of it.

The main function of a specific corporation will be advisory in nature. Labor and management of the entire branch are to come together to talk over problems and

make recommendations on matters related to the orderly functioning of their industry within the national economic set-up. It is not the purpose of the present bill to delegate real authority to all the corporations that may come into existence. It does, however, leave the door open for the granting of such authority by the law which establishes a specific corporation. If, in future, a specific corporation is given authority to pass regulations binding on all parties and units concerned, such regulations will require a qualified two-thirds majority of votes in order to become corporation law.

The above review will indicate the importance of this bill in paving the way for economic democracy. Given the cooperation of labor and industry, a tremendous step



will be taken toward the democratizing of industry, agriculture, the trade and whole economic life of the country, without government interference. Not only will an organ of labor-management arbitration and cooper-

ation be created, but the organization can also set and enforce standards of fair competition among member units.

The proposed system provides an opportunity for each side in production to talk things over with representatives of the other sides, and to get an understanding of the position of each. Workers may be shown the importance of serving in shifts, not because this system fattens the purse of Mr. X or Mr. Y., but because it serves the common good. Employers' eyes may be opened to many unfair practices on the part of management of which they were not aware. And certain practices which many a decent employer detests, but which have been maintained to meet competition, may be abolished. The custom of bribing skilled workers away from another employerdue to the scarcity of highly skilled labor-a practice which works to the disadvantage of law-abiding employers who observe ceiling prices, may be eliminated. To date the Government has been powerless to curb this; if it steps in, it is blasted for practising too tight a control.

The corporation does for business what the municipal community does for political life. As the city fathers draft ordinances for the welfare of the citizens, the corporation fathers will draft corporative ordinances.

One criticism made of the plan is to the effect that it will end up in a bureaucracy which will pave the way for nationalization. Quite the contrary. All signs point to the fact that unless the common man is given the share of control and income which is his due, nationalization on a large scale is the answer. The corporation is the middle way.

(Father E. F. Schroeder, S.J., after completing his theological course at Weston College, Weston, Mass., took special studies in Economics at Harvard University. He is at present Assistant Editor-in-Chief of Amsterdam's De Linie, leading national Catholic weekly of Holland.)

# Literature & Art

# Sydney Smith: a knight of humor

M. Whitcomb Hess

"Here was a man," George Saintsbury said at the close of a scholarly tribute to Sydney Smith, English writer and clergyman, "who for goodness as well as cleverness, for sound practical wisdom as well as for fantastic verbal wit, has had hardly a superior and very few equals." We must agree that the combination of these special qualities is as excellent as it is rare; and Smith's much-touted cleverness and wit would have lost its effectiveness had it been less coupled with goodness and practical wisdom to which, in the Anglican pastor, it was really incidental and subordinate. For all its spontaneity and sparkle there was, underneath, some moral point to his humor. This appeared whether the humor concerned the politeness of a Miss Markham whom the cleric once, in carving a partridge, had splashed with gravy from head to foot but who swore that not a drop touched her-which circumstance, Sydney declared, is one of the "triumphs of civilized life"-or whether it had to do with Macaulay's bookishness which obviously had in it an element of the

"Macaulay," he said in a famous description of his contemporary.

was a book in breeches; he not only overflowed with learning but stood in the slops; he was laying society waste with his waterspouts of talk; people in his company burst for want of an opportunity of dropping in a word; he confounded soliloquy and colloquy. The great use of the raised center, revolving on a round table, would be to put Macaulay on it and distribute his talk fairly to the company.

It was Smith, too, who said that "when a man is a fool, in England we only trust him with the immortal concerns of human beings," and observed of Malthus that he was "a good-natured man, and, if there are no appearances of approaching fertility, civil to every lady." Again, he described "a young clergyman distantly related to a bishop" as like a sloth which "moves suspended, rests suspended, sleeps suspended, and passes his life in suspense." What more forceful criticism could he have voiced in straight decrying of the morals of his day?

Thomas Moore named his colleague the Primate of England's hierarchy of wits. He was also, in his enjoyment of good food and company, akin to an earlier English vicar, Robert Herrick; though it is to two men of a later century, Steele and Swift, that Sydney has been usually compared, because his social and literary repu-

tations, like theirs, were of mutual support. The one great divergence from Herrick is itself attributable in large part to his times: folk of that era would not have countenanced—as did those of Herrick's—the overt Catullan element in the seventeenth-century pastor's wit. But in his love of domesticity, his concern for the welfare of all his dependants, his delight in food and festivity, even his love of roses as symbols of nature's spontaneous grace, and his cultivation of apple orchards, he is another gardener in Hesperides.

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And yet, though each of these irrepressibly highspirited, fluent, benevolent, brilliant English divines did reflect his era in his form of wit, there is a difference that extends itself to practical behavior. We find in Herrick none of the energetic reforming spirit that actuated his brother clergyman. Did Smith's freedom from bawdiness-there is no least taint of it in his voluminous humor -have something to do with his determination to make the world better? Any sins against the sixth commandment, even such verbal ones as Herrick made (which he assures us were mere jocosities and did not touch his behavior) for the sake of fun, work insidiously against a person's sense of justice, apparently; and the impure person's penalty remains, as Plato said of all evil, "the fatal necessity of becoming more unjust." Impurity of thought in any degree is evidently one of the Evil One's most powerful aids.

In any event, our latter-day Herrick, whose shrewdness, boldness and geniality combined to make him not only a primate of the wits but also of the reformers of the last century—historians give him a large place in helping England to reform instead of to ruin—was actuated all his life by a passion for justice; and he is ranked with the pioneers in social and political welfare work.

It is no more known why Sydney took orders than why Herrick did; the former's years at Oxford are as quiet as Ben Jonson's crony's had been at Cambridge. But at the age of twenty-five (he was born in 1771) we find him in his first curacy, a very secluded one, on Salisbury Plain. The squire of the parish, Michael Hicks-Beach, proved the Maecenas of this Horace among the wits, for he sent him to Edinburgh for five years. There with Jeffrey and Brougham he founded the powerful opinion-molder, the Edinburgh Review, the first issue (October, 1802) of which Smith edited. Then he went to London, and made a dual discovery: first, that nobody was solely employed in observing him; and second, that shamming is of little or no use-the world is too sharp-eyed not to find a person out pretty quickly. Consequently he decided to let nature have its way; and, being born with a fixed disposition (in Hume's phrase) to look on the bright side, nature's way with him was the royal road of constant light-heartedness.

But Smith was too true a moralist not to keep his wit in an incidental and subservient place. We find the lesson learned in the early thirties (as he tells us in one of his moral philosophy lectures-a lesson that our modern radio program-makers need to learn) namely, that wit and humor tend to corrupt the understanding and the heart if not kept in the background of things. As the master quality of a mind, humor entails serious toll of a man's principles. The professing wit, Sydney Smith said, can no more live without applause than without air; yet, wit's danger being known, Sydney recognized the fact that everything with efficiency and vigor is dangerous: "Nothing is safe but mediocrity." And where humor teaches age and care and pain to smile, being withal genuine and innocent, it is one of God's most gracious gifts, given man "to charm his pained steps over the burning marl."

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During his vigorous pastorates at Foston-le-Clay, Combe-Florey and, at last, London, he worked steadily for reform in British politics and society. His greatest work, of course, was for Catholic Emancipation. He constantly reminded the British of the way the Catholics had been persecuted, whether under "the mild Elizabeth," or in France, with whose history and language he was perfectly familiar. His "Peter Plymley Letters" are unsurpassed as examples of innocent-looking yet caustic irony.

Along with his incisive essays for the cause of toleration he made many speeches. At a clergy meeting in 1823, referring to a Protestant agitator and M.P. from Armagh, he said: "I defy Dr. Duigenan, in the full vigor of his incapacity, in the strongest access of that Protestant epilepsy in which he was so often convulsed, to have added a single security to the security of that oath." At another meeting, in March 1825, called to protest against the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the whole body of clergymen was opposed by Smith alone. Again, in April, he told the group that if they must be unjust, if injustice was a luxury they could not do without, to confine their injustice to a few thousand sectaries, not six million Catholics. "Galvanize a frog," he suggested; "don't galvanize a tiger."

His gallant defense of the Catholics in the face of powerful opposition shows a constant, triumphing courage. But he never guessed what a revival of Catholicism would follow the passing of the Bill in 1829 any more than he guessed the true source of Catholic vitality. He simply saw the Catholic as he saw the Negro in America, a victim of diabolical tyranny in a land that boasted to high heaven of its foundation in freedom. His prophecy for America, made in 1824, was to come true with terrible accuracy: "The great disgrace and danger of America, the existence of slavery . . . will one day entail (and ought to entail) a bloody civil war on the Americans." But the Catholic reforms he fought for were granted with one exception: the payment of Catholic priests by the state.

Other successful campaigns for reform initiated by Sydney Smith include the procuring of counsel for prisoners, changes in game laws as well as in laws that imposed death by hanging for mere peccadillos (there were then two hundred and twenty-three death offenses in the criminal code), women's rights in education, and mitigation of some of the cruelties to chimney-sweeps. For the last, among other pleas, he drew a word-picture of a great London party—with exquisite glass, silver, food, flowers, merry company, and a small "climbing boy" roasted to death up the chimney. His marvelous ironic pictures—such as the House of Lords resisting the waves of reform resembling Dame Partington trying to stem the Atlantic with a mop—are as unforgettable as they were efficacious. The old lady of Sidmouth with her mop, pushing away at the ocean, was too much even for his Tory opponents.

Sydney Smith was never taken in by specious or sententious reasoning, and his reaction to certain instances of both called forth a great deal of his special brand of humor, grounded as it was in his constantly light heart. He was quoted as saying-and at the age of forty-that he often longed to jump over the tables and chairs for sheer glee and light-heartedness. If he failed-for lack of profundity-to be a perfect knight of humor such as Chesterton, with whom he has much in common, it should not be forgotten that he helped materially in making Chesterton possible, just in his working to provide the social and political climate in which such a person could breathe. (Nor did Chesterton forget; indeed he observed that "ingratitude is one of the chief intellectual sins of man: we forget where we stand in relation to natural phenomena and we forget it in relation to social phenomena.")

In one of Smith's last sermons at St. Paul's-where he served as canon from 1831 until his death, February 22, 1845-he said that "we talk of human life as a journey, but how variously is that journey performed!" Some persons he saw moving leisurely over velvet lawns, well-shod and mantled, with every breeze and sunbeam tempered; others, however, "walk with bare feet and naked breast, jaded, mangled and chilled." It was the cause of these latter that Smith made his own; and together with his kindly catholic heart he had a sure knowledge of political science which appears over and over in his timely comments and shrewd observations, of which the following is only one of many: "Of all injurious instruments of despotism I most commend a popular assembly, where the majority are paid and hired, and a few bold and able men, by their brave speeches, make the people believe they are free."

His resourceful fancy never failed him, not even during those final years in London where he was fêted and lionized; and some of his figures of speech appear even more memorably in the works of his successors. Few persons have ever been quoted as Sydney Smith has; but how many readers of Tennyson's line on the gold chains binding the earth to God remember Smith's description of religious peace as a golden chain reaching from earth to heaven? Or, reading of Emily Dickinson's crocus as it rises from being a vassal of the snow, remember the British cleric's use of that early spring flower as a symbol of the resurrection?

## Sarcophagal satire

#### THE LOVED ONE

By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown. 164p. \$2.50

In Life for April 8, 1946, the unpredictable Evelyn Waugh made two statements. He said, first:

The failure of modern novelists [is that] they try to represent the whole human mind and soul and yet omit its determining character—that of being God's creature with a defined purpose.

So, in my future books, there will be two things to make them unpopular: a preoccupation with style and the attempt to represent man more fully, which, to me, means only one thing, man in his relation to God.

Second, Mr. Waugh answers the question, "Are your books meant to be satirical?" by saying:

No. Satire is a matter of period. It flourishes in a stable society and presupposes homogeneous moral standards. [It] has no place in the Century of the Common Man where vice no longer pays lip service to virtue. The artist's only service to the disintegrated society of today is to create a little independent system of order of his own.

The Loved One does not fulfill Mr. Waugh's first promise. It is a clean break with both the theme and treatment of Brideshead Revisited and, though it has been welcomed by reviewers as a sign that Mr. Waugh is returning to his earlier and masterfully dominated field of satire, I feel it doesn't mark an advance, but a definite retrogression.

Furthermore, despite Mr. Waugh's theories about satire, The Loved One is unmistakably satirical. In fact, it is satirical even on Mr. Waugh's own grounds; for he went on to say, in the second quotation above, that satire "exposes polite cruelty and folly by exaggerating them. It seeks to produce shame." And this is exactly what The Loved One does, though it sparks not a little humor, too.

As everyone knows by this time, The Loved One is the story of an English poet of some parts stranded in Hollywood after his failure as a script writer and employed as an assistant in the Happier Hunting Grounds, a cemetery-crematorium for pets. Up the hill a distance away is Whispering Glades,

the super-melagorgeous resting place for human bipeds. When an elderly fired-from-the-films member of the very pukka-sahib English colony in Hollywood commits suicide, the young poet goes to Whispering Glades to arrange "the inhumement, entombment, inurnment, immurement . . . or insarcophagusment," according to the sales patter of the Mortuary Hostess. There the poet meets Aimée Thanatogenos, a beautician for the varied and sundry Loved Ones. Dennis, the poet, falls for her because, amid the thousands of "standard product" American girls, this one was different-"she was a decadent . . . her eyes [were] greenish and remote with a rich glint of lunacy." The glinty lunatic, however, is being wooed by Mr. Joyboy, the head mortician. How the triangle is resolved, with the help of a columnist for the lovelorn, and how Dennis heeds the prayers of his British co-exiles to throw up his job and return home makes the real story of the book, and it would be unfair to reveal it.



As you may infer, this is a caustic comment on one aspect of American (or shall we say Los Angeles-American?) culture. Beneath the surface glitter, of course, Mr. Waugh evidences a challenging and worried concern over the fact that a sensate culture cannot face the stark and noble fact of death but has to glamorize, soften and adulterate it. He is further probing the fact that a neon-lighted, streamlined humanity tends to become inhuman; Aimée, for all her nitwit qualities, is perhaps the most human among the character nonentities for, after all, she is concerned in keeping her relations to her two lovers, as she says, "ethical."

The theme is gruesome; the bite of the wit is unmistakable; the intent of the satire is sound—but it all seems a bit overstrained. It is quite clearly a macabre book that doesn't quite come off.

I have no suspicion that Mr. Waugh's satirical font has dried up, but I think he would be doing much more justice to his really superb artistry if he got himself back to material similar to Brideshead Revisited—and soon.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### Soviet spy-ring

#### THE IRON CURTAIN

By Igor Gouzenko. Dutton. 280p. \$3.

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This blast at Communist Russia is by far the most dramatic exposé of Soviet spying and double-dealing in the Western Hemisphere published to date. Like so many other known and unknown Soviet subjects, Mr. Gouzenko, former code clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, made his momentous decision to desert Stalin upon his discovery of American life. He came to this decision while finding freedom and respect for the individual in supposedly decadent and capitalist-ridden Canada. Unlike his predecessors, when leaving the Soviet Embassy, Igor Gouzenko took with him documentary proof-original letters, messages and the like-of the Russian spy network in Canada and the United States. Thanks to his sensational revelations, a half-dozen Canadians, men and women, were sent to prison for betraying closely guarded secrets to Soviet Russia. The dramatic story of The Iron Curtain (the name seems to this writer less appropriate when viewed in the light of its contents) has already been incorporated into a motion picture of the same title.

The book is roughly divided into two parts. The first is an autobiographical account of the author's life in Russia, the second deals with the huge, vastly ramified espionage organization of the Soviet Government as it came to be known by a code clerk.

Nothing new is added to known facts about the USSR by Mr. Gouzenko's personal narrative of his youthful days in Communist Russia. Two things, however, are likely to stand out in the reader's mind—hunger and fear. Food shortages, a general lack of the most essential items, he believes to be deliberately used as a weapon of terror and power. Fear of the dread secret police, the NKVD, is so common that the young generation knows no system save one honeycombed by trained spies.

In such an atmosphere, Gouzenko graduated from a military engineering academy, part of the Soviet Intelligence training center. In 1943 he was sent to Canada as a code clerk in the Embassy. Like all other Soviet officials in foreign countries, he was told to make no friends, to tell nothing; above all, upon his arrival to Ottawa, he was told: "Do not trust the supposedly friendly American. He is the most dangerous type of foreigner."

But Soviet officials in Canada like Gouzenko, despite the strict supervision, could not be prevented from contacting Canadians. Pondering on what he had seen in Russia and upon the atmosphere of constant spying surrounding him in the Embassy, the author's loyalty toward the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin began to waver. His doubts grew when he saw with "new eyes" the brutality of the regime he served. Gouzenko wanted his wife and infant to share such bounties as were known by humble Canadians living around them.

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As he watched the spider-web spy ring incessantly working against Canada and the United States—both of which were allies of the Soviet Union—Gouzenko decided to desert the Embassy. The final break was precipitated by an order commanding him to return to Russia.

When the author was ready to flee with his selected and compromising documents, a tragedy almost occurred. No one, even officials of the Canadian Ministry of Justice, would give his story credence. At last he was taken under the protection of the Canadian Mounties, almost at the moment when the local NKVD team was trying to break into his apartment with intent to perform a "wet affair," which in coded language meant liquidation on the spot.

Months later, Mr. Gouzenko appeared before a Canadian Royal Commission. His calm, meticulously factual testimony, delivered under severe cross-examination, reached into the Federal Parliament of Canada and resulted in a jail sentence for an elected member of the House of Commons. Also involved was an astounding array of educational, military and civil personages. The chief traitors were Dr. Allan Nunn May, English scientist who got the important atomic assignment despite his record as a Communist; Fred Rose, an immigrant from Poland, who became a member of the Canadian Parliament; and Sam Carr, national organizer of the Labor-Progressive (communist) Party. Scores of lesser spies were also implicated, all of whom had worked under Col. Zabotin, who in turn was directly responsible to Moscow. Under his orders, Canadian dupes, fellow travelers and parlor pinks provided information as to Canada's defenses, the progress of atomic-energy research and, particularly, the use of uranium. These men and women, writes the author, readily became spies for totalitarian Russia not because of money but because of Soviet indoctrination and their belief in the "righteousness" of the communist cause.

The Iron Curtain should be read by every American desirous of knowing what Russia is up to, what are her aims and her methods.

As for Mr. Gouzenko, he has performed a great service not only to Canada and the United States, but to free peoples everywhere. The Canadian Royal Commission investigating the revelations has publicly thanked him for "a great public service to this country." WALTER DUSHNYCK

#### THE NAZAROVS

By Markoosha Fischer. Harper. 373p.

Mrs. Fischer, herself a disillusioned Communist who managed to get out of Russia in 1939, has written an absorbing story of three generations of Nazarovs against a background of revolution, deprivation and terror. In 1892 Anton Nazarov, a rich Moscow merchant, and his wife, Kseniya, were aware of some of the injustices and hatreds of the Tsarist regime and realized that their son, Maxim, and their daughter, Olga, sympathized with those who wished to bring about a new social order. Yet they were shocked when Olga married a peasant and gave up her life of ease to live in a village and teach revolutionary ideas: they were incredulous when Maxim refused to live at home any longer because he would not accept any privilege not shared by the common man; they were appalled by the chaos which followed the revo-

Maxim and Natasha (Olga's daughter) believed firmly that the revolution would eventually bring comfort and happiness to all; they gave their time, energy, their hopes and dreams to the Cause; no sacrifice was too great so long as they believed it for the common good. Gradually they were forced to admit that all had been in vain; the purge of 1936 destroyed their last hope, and they acknowledged that fear had become the constant companion of their generation.

When Maxim is himself in danger of being "liquidated," and no friend dares lift a hand or open a door to help him, he tries to understand why people have grown cowardly and submissive. His conclusion is that everyone had become so interested in tractors and turbines that no one thought of improving people as human beings or of sav-

Some recent additions to the Bruce List

# AMERICAN HUMANISM and the NEW AGE

By Louis J. A. Mercier

Studies representative American humanists who not only oppose the classical humanism, but are ready to consider a distinctly theistic humanism. A sequel to The Challenge of Humanism. \$4,00

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THE BRUCE
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107 Montgomery Bldg. Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin ing souls. Looking back to the exile of Trotsky and the beginning of the GPU, he says: "They [the people] should have protested against the terror and the fear when there was still time to do so. . . . Now fear had become part of their very being. . . . Now anything could be done with them, anything Stalin wanted."

And what of the generation that has known only Stalin? Natasha sorrowfully admits that if she and her husband speak their real thoughts before their only son, Volik, he will betray them. Volik has been taught that there is only one Word, one Truth, and that is what Stalin says. He watches alertly for any sign of disloyalty to the Party, believing "it is better to destroy hundreds of innocent suspects than let one criminal escape."

The Nazarovs cannot be recommended without reservation—because of one very lurid passage—but in general it condemns moral chaos. It is a powerful book, so powerful that this reviewer recommends it to all our pink and red liberals, hoping it will haunt their dreams as it did hers.

MARY L. DUNN

## PATRICK CALLS ME MOTHER

By Ann Barley. Harper. 227p. \$2.75. It might be just as well to state at the outset that any resemblance between this comment and a book review is purely coincidental. This is one time when I make no effort to get away from subjective reaction. I hope the reasons will be obvious.

Miss Ann Barley wanted to adopt a child and, when she found herself at a dinner party with the man who was in this country trying to get food for Holland, she came to the conclusion that, among the thousands of orphaned children in Europe, there must be one for her. An inheritance had timed its arrival very nicely with the end of her job in Washington; a telephone conversation with an editor gave her a tolerable accrediting as a correspondent; a passport was secured from the State Department; all available packing space was given over to an impressive array of baby accoutrements: and. fortified by the doubts of all her friends, Miss Barley set off on her quest.

The account of her adventures is hilarious as she struggles with red tape, with language difficulties, with the numberless comical things that are bound to happen to a person like Ann Barley. She has a clear eye, a ready wit, and a wonderful sense of the incongruous, all adding up to genuine laughter-the audible kind. But in the midst of the fun, she makes for the children of Europe the most poignant appeal I have read. When she cites cases of tragedy and deprivation, her brevity and restraint are more eloquent than pages of the average sob story and, furthermore, her spontaneous humor has already built up a respect for her sense of values.

With the finding of Patrick, she discovers just how complicated life can

be, how baffling it is to wrestle with a strange language in discussing a baby's most imperative needs, how successful a baby is in establishing social relations. When officialdom worried about Patrick's status in the Paris hotel, Miss Barley suggested that they register him as a "small businessman."

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The publication of this book coincides with the Crusade for Children, the attempt to raise \$60 million for the starving and abandoned children of the world. If the timing was not planned, then it is a most fortunate accident. I hope and pray that Ann Barley's book will be widely read, that it will move readers to laughter, their hearts to sympathy and their hands to their checkbooks. Mary Stack McNiff

# The Word

PILLARS OF OUR FAITH
18. The Only-Begotten. I don't really
understand what you mean (says the
Man in the Street) when you speak of
God begetting another God.

Nor do I (replies the Theologian), because I never spoke like that, and because in the Creed you won't find anything like that, and because, for any Christian in his senses to speak of two Gods is rank blasphemy.

Blasphemy! That's a strong word—perhaps a little old-fashioned. All the same, you can't deny that you speak of the Father and the only-begotten Son. That sounds awkward, a bit ominous. Too much like the tales of the ancient Greeks. God begetting a Son! I can fancy many things, but there are some limits.

Stop! The Creed doesn't say that God begot a Son. Please, instead of "God," say "the Father." It is preposterous to question the statements of the Creed if you are unwilling or unable to read them. They are plain enough.

All right, let us say that the Father begot the Son. . . . You theologians are very particular about such trifles!

They are not trifles, my friend, but truths of paramount importance. If you say that God begets a Son, you may as well conclude that the Holy Ghost, being God, is the Father, or that God begets Himself.

Are you trying to tangle me up? If you object to everything I say, we shall not get very far.

And if we start with false assump

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tions, we shall get nowhere. Since you bring up the mystery of the Holy Trinity, we must begin with an exact and precise statement of what the faith says about it. Before skinning a hare, you must take hold of him, and make sure he is not a squirrel.

Of course. But the trouble is that I cannot understand what this divine begetting could be. A metaphor of rather bad taste, so far as I can see. Begetting belongs to animals. It is a little coarse to apply this biological function to God.

No more than when you say of your mind that it "conceives," or that your ideas are "fecund." The Catholic faith has never attached to the Godhead anything unworthy of God, and, in order that you may not be alarmed by words, theology comes to the rescue and explains, technically, nay, scientifically, what "generation" means in the Holy Trinity. And what theology says is worth listening to. She won't explain away the mystery but, starting from the articles of faith, she manages to throw some light on the problem and solve the difficulties.

So much the better. Proceed with your theology.

In the Creed, emphasis is laid on the fact that the Son was not "made" but was "begotten." When you make something, that something partakes of what is yours. The shoemaker gives something of himself to the shoe, and we know very well that the cook is not irrelevant to the cooking. But this "communication" is far from being perfect. In a picture, even if true to the original, we have only the likeness of the features of the sitter. We men are "made" in the likeness of God, which means that we are created. Now, between a father and his son, the communication is far closer. The son, in a sense, is not only an image, but a continuation of the father. He is stamped forever, in his very nature, not accidentally but essentially, as the son of his father. When I communicate to you what is in my mind, provided you understand me perfectly, I beget in your intellect an idea which is not only an extension of mine, but identically the same. And when we say that the Father begot the Son, we mean that the Son, from all eternity, received from the Father as from his principle the divine nature, identically the same. He is the same One God, because what is identical cannot be split; and He is distinct from the Father, because if the giver is not distinct from the receiver there is nothing which can properly

be given. Generation, when perfect, is perfect communication. The Son gets from the Father what the Father is: and He is perfectly distinct from the Father because fatherhood and sonship cannot be the same relation. Why do you say that we present coarse and biological concepts when we speak of the Only Begotten?

PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

# Theatre

BELATED BOUOUETS-II. While good acting has become the rule rather than the exception on our stage, and really fine acting is not at all rare, last season's outstanding performances reached an impressive number. In limited space, a reviewer's comment on an actor's work does not always fully assess the quality of the art, since there are numerous production specialists who must be mentioned along with the author and actors. Perhaps it is just as well to review the season retrospectively, when, unhurried by the pressure of the moment, one can compare lasting impressions.

On the masculine side, there were nine grand performances, five of them so even in excellence that preference could depend on an intangible. The top five were: Godfrey Tearle, in Antony and Cleopatra; Paul Kelly, in Command Decision; Henry Fonda, in Mr. Roberts; Hilton Edwards, in John Bull's Other Island; and Louis Calhern, in The Play's the Thing. Mr. Tearle surpassed his competition with a comfortable margin. He was challenged by a great play and cast to interpret a complex character, and his portrayal of the role was, to throw away reserve, superlative.

Paul Kelly also encountered a role that tested his mettle. In Command Decision, the essential conflict is in the mind of the leading character, and it is Mr. Kelly's task to project the struggle in a concrete form intelligible to

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the audience. His reticent performance is a souvenir to be treasured among experiences saved up for remembrance in old age.

The outstanding contribution from an actress, in the opinion of this pundit, is Gertrude Berg's characterization in Me and Molly-not forgetting Wendy Hiller's cold fire in The Heiress, or Meg Mundy's forlorn slattern in The Respectful Prostitute. The aim of acting is to collaborate with the playwright in creating an illusion of reality, and an actor's stature as an artist is measured by his ability to produce the illusion while concealing the art. Miss Berg, making her initial appearance as a round performer, merges her personality with her character so completely that the actress dissolves in her role, and she becomes an authentic middleclass wife and mother, harassed by family problems and a chronic shortage of money, but always patient and resourceful.

Ruth Amos, as a stabilizing force in Strange Bedfellows, gives the year's best feminine performance in a secondary role.

Henry Fonda's restraint, Louis Calhern's urbanity and the eloquence of Hilton Edwards are merely mentioned, since there is no room for ample comment. Frank Alenby, Oscar Homolka, Robert Keith and Philip Loeb, among the actors; and Beatrice Straight, Jessie Royce Landis and Patricia Collinge, for the ladies, were fluent in leading or supporting roles; and any of them might have led the field in a less bountiful season. If at any time in the near future our stage becomes stagnant, its lethargy will not be caused by a dearth of talented actors.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

# **Films**

A FOREIGN AFFAIR is the latest film to gain pictorial impact by the use of war-torn European backgrounds. Compared with the childish and confused preachments of such earlier attempts as To the Victor and Berlin Express, its satiric commentary on postwar Berlin is, up to a point, informed and knowingly written. The dramatic focus is a triangle bounded on one side by the conscientious but naive distaff member of a congressional committee investigating troop morale (Jean Arthur), and on the other by a Berlin cafe

singer (Marlene Dietrich) who leans with the prevailing political wind and is not at all fastidious about her methods. In the middle is an Army captain (John Lund), endowed with more brains than ideals, who is not above pretending to be smitten by the former to forestall her investigation of the latter's nazi antecedents. The maneuvering of these three-none of whom, obviously, fits into the category of the conventional screen hero or heroineare believable, at times hilariously funny; at others involving spade-calling to a degree hardly attributable to a high-minded zeal for realism, but generally consistent with a theme illustrating the degradation of war and its aftermath. However, any attempt at social commentary is jettisoned about reel seven (along with the hopes of the moviegoer expecting an intelligent, factfacing denouement) in favor of some ill-considered farce and melodrama leading up to the standard, incredible happy ending. (Paramount)

MAN-EATER OF KUMAON. If you are interested in learning that a tiger will not attack humans unless physical disability puts his ordinary four-footed prey beyond his reach, this and other fascinating if not very useful bits of jungle lore are to be found in Man-Eater of Kumaon. The catch is that the humans in the story, notably a disillusioned product of civilization (Wendell Corey) who causes all the trouble by wounding a tiger and then letting him escape, are not nearly so interesting. Before the man-eater and the hunter have had their final, mutually fatal encounter, the predatory beast has made several raids on a native village inhabited by Sabu, some Indian extras and a lot of Californians, including Morris Carnovsky and Joanne Page, looking very uncomfortable in their brown make-up; and the audience has been exposed to a great deal of transparent philosophizing about the destiny of man and to Hollywood's quaint notion of the ageless wisdom of primitive people. As a result, adults are likely to find themselves rooting for the tiger. (Universal-International)

HATTER'S CASTLE. Six years ago, when this British adaptation of A. J. Cronin's earliest novel was filmed, James Mason, currently billed as "the man you love to hate," was just another smooth-cheeked juvenile. The quota of villainy is amply provided by Robert Newton as a paranoic hat manufacturer whose bullying and delusions of gran-

deur drive his entire tamily and finally himself to destruction. As an added attraction, Emlyn Williams is seen as a plausible, small-time scoundrel, who does wrong by the madman's hapless daughter (a part which Deborah Kerr would doubtless like to forget). For all its blatant, old-fashioned melodrama, the film has a certain integrity of mood and performance which may appeal to adults. (Paramount)

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WALLFLOWER. How to get a man (in this case Robert Hutton) is the farcical lesson which wallflower Joyce Reynolds learns from her glamorous sister, Janis Paige. Though suffering from an excess in some departments, being painfully over-written and overacted, there is a marked deficiency in the matter of wardrobe. Its skimpy, "old-look" skirts bespeak lengthy repose on a studio shelf, a repose which, in the interests of continuing good relations between producer and audience. should never have been disturbed. MOIRA WALSH (Warner Bros.)

# Parade

UNBALANCED PERSONALITIES figured prominently in the news. . . . Their lack of balance assumed a wide assortment of externalized forms. . . . Courtesy was carried too far. . . . In England, a politician tore into a party meeting, apologized for not being able to stay, explaining: "My house is on fire," then rushed back to his flaming home, two blocks away. . . . Feet were placed above duty. . . . In Pittsburgh, a letter carrier was arrested. . . . He had adopted a policy of throwing the mail away when he sensed his feet becoming tired. . . . Wifely devotion deteriorated into tyranny. . . . A Miami husband complained that his wife: a) snipped pictures of women from newspapers entering the house, b) turned off the radio when a female voice sounded over the air, c) allowed him only twentyfive cents a week allowance fearing that he would spend a larger allowance on girls. . . . Zeal for a spouse's health went beyond the bounds of right resson. . . . Feeling that his wife had teeth in her mouth that had better be out, a Michigan City, Ind., husband brought a dentist home with him, tied his wife to a chair, stood by as the dentist yanked out twelve of her teeth. The toothless wife had both husband and

nd finally added at-

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ALITIES ews. . . . ed a wide rms. . . . . . . . In o a party eing able use is on s flaming Feet were sburgh, a

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een as a rel, who s hapless rah Kerr ). For all elodrama. of mood appeal to

do you like being burgled?" . . . The harm that impulsiveness does to balance was observed. . . . In Los Angeles, a twenty-year-old stenographer was arrested for bigamously marrying four husbands. She disclosed her viewpoint thus: "I am very impulsive. I married them all in four years, just on the spur of the moment, from time to time." . . . Inordinate love of military glory ended in grief. . . . An Illinois man was haled into court for falsifying Army records. .. Working in Washington's Pentagon Building in the officers' records branch through the war, he wrote his own record, complete with parachute raids behind enemy lines in Europe. After appointing himself a lieutenant, he swarded himself medals and citations, including the Bronze Star, the Combat Infantry Badge and the Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster. . . . Love of blazes hurt California. . . . Arrested there was a thirty-year-old citizen who has been setting fires since he was eight years old. In recent months, he admitted setting twenty major fires,

dentist arrested. . . . Burglars mani-

fested an increasing lack of bal-

ance. . . . In London, an anti-social

character broke into a home, made

a substantial haul, next day tele-

phoned the housewife, inquired: "How

Lack of balance is a matter of degree. ... Some men are very much off-balance; others are not so much off. . . . But all men are off to some extent; all, that is, with one exception.

including blazes in a church, a packing

house, a lumber yard. His smaller

flames were in sheds, garages, rubbish

piles. He even burned down the house

behind his own. He told police: "I am

not mad at anybody. I just love to see

In all human history there has appeared only one Man who was precisely on the norm. . . . In Him alone is found fearlessness without foolhardiness; prudence that never veered toward cowardice; firmness without a trace of tyranny; wisdom utterly devoid of pride. . . . Among all the men who ever lived on this earth, of Him alone can it be said: "He was perfectly balanced." . . . He was, and is now, a Man. . . . He is also God. . . . His name is Jesus Christ.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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# Correspondence\*

#### Wall street strike

EDITOR: I refer to my letters of May 8, May 13, June 2, and your replies thereto, signed by Rev. Benjamin L. Masse, S.J., all concerning the article in AMERICA of April 10, 1948, "The Wall Street Strike."

I have requested publication in your magazine of all this correspondence and regret to note that you refused this request and will publish only this letter of limited length, in which it is impossible to condense adequately all the facts and arguments in my cor-

As a militant Roman Catholic, a resident of New York City, and a member of the New York Stock Exchange, I charge the following:

1. That your presentation of the main issue involved in the recent New York Stock Exchange strike in your article, "The Wall Street Strike" (AMERICA, April 10), as unionism instead of the inalienable right of an employe to exercise his free will to join or refuse to join the union, was misleading and false.

2. That your presentation was hopelessly biased against the Stock Exchanges, and your conclusion libelous.

3. As a member of a member firm of the New York Stock Exchange, I challenge and completely deny your right to imply guilt on my part "from a moral standpoint."

4. Your false and misleading article, "The Wall Street Strike," was copied verbatim on hand bills distributed by strikers to countless thousands of Catholics, Protestants and Jews in Wall Street and did irreparable damage to AMERICA and labor.

In your article, you invited your readers to take a good look at "what happened last week in Wall Street,' "if you want to know why decent people, sometimes, in desperation, become Communists"; you make no reference, of course, to those union strikers, reinforced by thugs and gangsters in the picket line from the Maritime Union, whose vile, obscene language almost defied the imagination, and by misquoting the main issue at stake, you attempted to advance reasons for the adoption of communism.

There is no Order more highly respected, more beloved, nor considered more sagacious, than the Jesuit Order, and it is lamentable that a Jesuit magazine should print such an article, so biased and prejudiced, and so lacking in fairness and truth.

New York, N. Y. D. E. WADE

#### Bundles for the treasurer

EDITOR: An old lady of my acquaintance (an American citizen for the past twenty years, and grandmother of two boys who served in World War II) was born in one of the territories now under Yugoslavia. In order to make money to send food and clothes to the relatives still living in that country, she has been doing charwork.

The other day she told me her sister had written not to send any more packages because she could not afford to pay the tax on them charged by the Yugoslav Government. On one package (I do not know the contents; I merely know the sender had paid \$3.70 postage on the lot) the tax was 3,000 dinars. If the recipient cannot pay the tax, the package is auctioned off.

Mrs. F. (the sender) is under the impression that that's the way communist Yugoslavia is making up for the goods not received under ERP.

New York, N. Y. B. BETTINGER

#### Old wine

Editor: During the past two years I have had occasion to read through almost 1,500 issues of AMERICA, covering the twenty-nine-year period from 1914 to 1943. Although I was studying the writing of only one of your Editors, article after article, written by other men on subjects foreign to my research, constantly drew my attention.

So interesting and so fresh were these articles-even more significant when seen in their historical perspectivethat it became increasingly difficult for me to stick to my field of study. Undreamed-of treasures kept emerging, such as the long series of articles devoted to the Labor Encyclicals, published in 1931, the fortieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum-for example.

I merely want to suggest to readers of America that your magazine is more than a weekly; it is a living picture of God's growing Church.

MORTON HILL, S.J.

Woodstock, Mo.





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